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Jibril, secretary general of the PFLP-General Command; Abu Musa [Sa'id Musa Muragha], secretary of Fatah New Revolutionary Movement; Muhammad Khalifah, member of the PLO Executive Committee; 'Abd al-Muhsin Abu Mayzar, official PLO spokesman; Dr Samir Ghawshah, secretary general of the Popular Struggle Front; Taysir Qubba'h, member of the DFLP; 'Umar Harb, general secretary of the Lebanese Arab Socialist Union; and George Hawi, secretary general of the Lebanese Communist Party.

Ali-Qadhdhafi Addresses Congress
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2 Mar 85

[Speech by Libyan leader Colonel Mu'ammarr al-Qadhdhafi to General People's Congress session in Tripoli — live]

[Excerpts] Brothers, we have to stress on every anniversary of the establishment of the Jamahiriyah and of the declaration of the people's authority, the popular will; to stress the people's authority, the authority of the people's congresses and of the people's committees; to stress the people's authority by actual practice and to stress it by deepening the concept of people's authority in ourselves year after year. Brothers, we are establishing the first Jamahiriyah on earth.

Brothers, to begin, we salute Brother 'Ali Nasir who has honored us and participated [words indistinct] in South Yemen, and the senior high-ranking delegation of the brother strugglers which accompanied him. We salute Colonel Rifa'i Butrus [Lieutenant Colonel Desire Bouterse] the leader of the revolution in Suriname, and the senior high-ranking delegation which accompanies him. We also salute the leaders of the Palestinian National Alliance and the members of the Lebanese Democratic National Front, and many delegations who are participating, whom we might not be able to mention, all those [words indistinct] from the Arab countries, and from the other friendly countries, from the secret liberation movements from the Arab countries and other countries of the world. We might [words indistinct], but in front of me there is a long list of the liberation movements and popular delegations from fraternal and friendly countries, and also secret popular delegations from countries whose governments are considered hostile to the Jamahiriyah, and therefore are hostile to their peoples, which led to the secret arrival of those delegations. Since they are against their peoples internally, they are against the Jamahiriyah. If they are hostile to the Jamahiriyah in Libya, then they are hostile to their peoples there. The proof of this is that these delegations which represent the popular masses of countries and political regions hostile to Libya nevertheless came secretly to celebrate with us the honored anniversary of establishing the first Jamahiriyah regime in our time and the anniversary of declaring the authority of one of the peoples of the earth.

In Aden I talked with the leadership of the Yemeni Socialist Party. I talked to them frankly as brothers and as a revolutionary Arab force. I explained to them, I told them, you call yourselves a party, but in actual fact you are a revolutionary force in South Yemen. [applause] I told them that there is an error in our definition of partisan in the countries of the Third World, the exploited and colonized countries. A party cannot emerge

except from a class. If we look at the parties of the West, [words indistinct] classes. Every class must generate a party to defend its interests, and to participate on its behalf in the government. As regards the new important law on the people's security, it is a development of the Jamahiri society toward completeness. There is now no traditional police or police authority similar to those in the other countries. According to this law every Libyan citizen, [words indistinct], every Libyan citizen can be a member of the people's security, in the street in which he lives, in the district. Therefore, the masses shoulder the responsibility of protecting themselves without the need of a specific official authority, which should be paid for the job, to do this job. Everyone, in addition to his job, says I am ready, I am a people's person. In the evening I am a [words indistinct], in the evening I am a policeman, I am a fireman. There is a sign which he wears.

There is another issue connected with this subject. It is the issue of making arrests. There were arrests in the past. The normal arrest procedure, with normal crimes, is carried out by the authorities who have this right of judicial discipline. They can make an arrest. But there could be a conspiracy or treason. There could be agents, people against the revolution, sabotage, spying, anything similar, especially the counterrevolutionary actions by those still trying to stay in power even though they are defeated, but they are firing the last shot.

In many of these cases, the police might not be able to handle them. They should be treated by revolutionary force, by the masses, by the peoples' congresses who should send a group to arrest them or to investigate. A revolutionary committee storms the place and says that there is treason or a conspiracy. In fact, in order to protect the revolution and defend it, the revolutionary forces are still ready to destroy and incite the people as I mentioned, and according to the declaration. [as heard] But what I am personally against, and I think everybody is against, is for anybody, whoever he might be — a traitor, or sent by the CIA, similar to the Muslim Brotherhood who were sent by an American intelligence officer whose name we know, and who gave them dollars and sent them to a block of flats in Tripoli — even if there is someone nasty and a hireling recruited originally in America and trained with the hireling in Sudan, who then comes sneaking here to work for the interests of imperialism, even such a person should not be arrested at dawn, and should not be arrested secretly.

There is no need to arrest him secretly, nor is there any need to tie him up, to gag him, to take him to an unknown destination, not to visit him.

Why all this? You find somebody in such a situation and you want to arrest him, all right. If the matter is serious requiring that a revolutionary force, members of people's congresses storm the place, then any group of citizens can do this to protect themselves from that person. There is no need for the police; we are all supposed to be the police, especially the revolutionary forces which may well have to undertake such action. One arrives at the house where the person in question is located. At the time of arrest one might fear that the person might flee. Such a situation indeed makes one intervene at any time. But if the arrest is secure then one can arrive at any time and knock at the door. One would say: Peace be upon you; are you this man or that? One

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would then call his family and tell them about the accusation. One would give his name and hand his identity card to them to record it. One would say to them: I am taking the suspect to this or that place and pray with me that he will be innocent. I do not know him and there is no enmity between him and me. He is facing serious charges related to treason; he is mobilized by foreign intelligence and has come to commit sabotage, or to conspire, to betray, to kill. One would say: May he prove to be innocent. May the charges be false and may he return to you safely. I am a well-known person.

He who does not follow this method is no revolutionary, nor does he belong to the free members of the people. He would be a coward! [applause] He who does not follow this method would be a coward!

Now that the people's security has been established and the people themselves assume such tasks there is no need for fear or hesitation in action. We are not defending a government. We are a people and we defend our existence. It is our right. The people practice dictatorship against its opponents, the opponents of the people. We are not a president ashamed of liquidating his opponents, a party liquidating its opponents, a ruling family like the ruling Senussi family [former Libyan royal family] liquidating its opponents, a tribe eliminating its adversaries. We are a people and before all the world we have the right to take legitimate and sacred action: an entire people liquidating its opponents inside and abroad, in broad daylight.

The other law you have issued concerns the setting up of construction companies. This is a great and admirable thing: the people beginning to look after itself, to build itself. But this means that if tomorrow you make a list of a group of people and appoint them as building workers in this or that branch of the company in this or that municipality, they must not say: No, we Libyans are masters and we are not supposed to work on building sites. What is the use of such laws then? You issue laws and you bear responsibility for them. I warn you: If you issue laws, they apply to everybody. You issue the laws and implement them. If tomorrow the people's committees you have appointed take, for example, 1,000 people from the building company to build with bricks and get dirty with asphalt they must not say: No we do not want to build. Why set up national companies then? The implementation of this law and obliging 1,000 people to be building workers likely to get dirty in sand and tar is simply the implementation of the decisions of the people's congresses. This is democracy, this is affirmation of the people's power.

Since the people have decided on the establishment of national building companies consisting of its sons, then some of these sons are appointed in a building company and so forth. If they say no then they are going against the people's will and the use of force against them to oblige them to submit to such work would be an affirmation of people's democracy.

You have decided many times before that Libya is the country of the Arabs and it is the nucleus state for Arab unity. After all, I would like to tell you the truth that I felt ashamed before the Arabs when they arrive with passports, needing a visa, or someone being sent back from the airport after arrival. These are contradictory things. [passage indistinct]

The basic people's congresses emphasize their decisions which were formulated by the General People's Congress in its extraordinary session held on 28 September 1980 considering the territory of the Arab Jamahiriya as the territory of all of the Arabs, emphasizing (?this) decision to accept Arab volunteers, train them and prepare them for the battle of the common destiny against the enemies of the Arab people and Arab nation with all capabilities. How can we claim it is the state of the Arabs? The Arabs are foreigners in Libya. In implementation of this decision we declare now that any Arab must enter Libya only with an identity card without the need for a passport. [applause]

Let his country deny him a passport. Libya is his country and accepts him by his identity card. Are you afraid of his being an intelligence agent? What is the importance of the passport? Are you suspicious of him? Let him enter with an identity card and then you follow him. If you find him to be a criminal bring him to justice and if you find him to be an ordinary Arab who wants to live with you then welcome him. If he wants to see your country and leave, he is also welcome with an identity card. [applause]

This apply to the Arabs and to the Maltese. Malta is a besieged island and is considered to enjoy Arab protection [mahsubah ala al-Arab], in need of the Arabs, at the back of the Arabs and at the back of Libya and the nearest place to us in the Mediterranean. Therefore, the Maltese must enjoy this. [applause] The Maltese enter with identity cards.

This brings us to our Arab situation. A nation is indeed exposed to danger. The Arab nation at this stage is not in a state of entering by passport or by visa. Neither have we reached a point that allows us to dwell on these trivialities. [as heard] You are Arabs whether you restrict each other or not, draw boundaries, place police or gendarmes around you, eliminate the gates, or hate each other — all of you are in the same boat, exposed to the danger of being swallowed by Zionism and imperialism.

Now the Arab nation is exposed to danger, the first of which is to dissect the nation. They have a plan. The plan is declared. Firstly, they divide you Arabs by telling you that you are Muslims and Christians. We are Arabs and that is that. However, they now divide us willy-nilly into Muslims and Christians. You are witnessing this. Then the Muslims are divided into Shi'ites and Sunnis or others. The Shi'ites in turn they will later divide and return them to Ithnay 'Ashariyah [Shi'ite sect] and the Sunnis will also be divided. They will also divide the Christians into Copts, Maronites, Orthodox, and Catholics.

They are the enemies, the Zionists and the Americans, and the forces allied with them. There are no Shi'ite, Sunni, Copts, Maronites. To hell with all of them. To hell with all of them. To hell with the Arabs, including their Copts, Maronites, Shi'ites, and Sunnis, a nation that must be eliminated, a nation that must be controlled, a strategic area that must be occupied — Bab al-Mandab must be controlled, the Suez Canal must be controlled, the Tiran Straits must be controlled, the Straits of Gibraltar must be controlled, Hormuz must be controlled. This area which links Europe with Asia and Africa is a strategic area. The world does not pass by sea and air except through the Arab area. It is a strategic area and they want to control it. How can they control it if there is a united, strong, and advanced nation

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which possesses power and vitality? It is not possible. Therefore, it is their prerequisite to paralyze its vitality and destroy its power and work to weaken it.

Can they declare this? Can they declare, can this coward Reagan declare that the Arab area is a strategic one and is of concern to him and that he hates us, all Arabs, Christians, and Muslims and that he is not bothered whether we are Shi'ites or Sunnis, that he knows nothing of all of this, and still he wants to control us?

He does not say so. He says that the Maronites have been overwhelmed by the Muslims, and he brought the *New Jersey* and started bombing the Muslims. You dog! The Muslims, the Maronites, the Druze, we are all Arabs and Lebanese citizens on our land. Can we send a warship to Alaska or to New York and bombard it to support the tribe of Braham against the tribe of John? Who would allow us to do that? Arab tribes have a feud among themselves and then the American 6th Fleet and the 10th Fleet [as heard] come declaring that they will interfere in the problem. Why? Because this nation has gone down so far as to enable an American to appoint himself as a policeman interfering in Arab conflicts.

We have to stress in deeds and not only in words that within the area between the ocean and the Gulf any war is considered a civil war, an Arab internal affair. If Egypt attacks Libya it is an internal matter. We would not ask either the Soviet Union nor America, or China or India or even Jupiter to interfere. We declare here that we would not ask anyone to interfere if Egypt advanced on Libya because this would be an Arab tribe that attacked another Arab tribe, and this is an internal attack. If Libya attacks Egypt or Sudan it is an internal action. If Aden seizes Sanaa or Sanaa seizes Aden, this is internal. A torn nation wants to unite. It is one people and one homeland. We are not involved in international law or world war. Let them refrain from interfering with us. If we go beyond the ocean and the Gulf to another country then they have the right to confront us and say that this is an Arab invasion beyond the boundaries of the Arab homeland and it should be defeated.

Between Lebanon and Syria there is nothing. The Lebanese is Syrian and the Syrian is Lebanese. It is wrong to say in Lebanon and in Syria and in Palestine. Let us even apply the slogan of the brothers in the Social Party, Greater Syria, apply Greater Syria as a part of the Arab nation — there is no difference. Here is a party which calls it Greater Syria; it does not call it either Lebanon or Palestine or Jordan.

Secondly: Jordan. This Jordan was created by the allies for King 'Abdallah. He came on a white horse, and they wanted to reward him because his father gave them the Arab homeland against the Ottomans. What can we do for him? Then came a general who pointed with his baton and said give him this plateau. This Jordan is nothing but a British general who drew a line and said give this place to Prince 'Abdallah. He called it east Jordan — there is the river, and west Jordan, the now occupied West Bank — and the east of it he said give it to Prince 'Abdallah. He created barriers and gates and said there is infiltration and the borders are sacred, and the Jordanian is fighting. [as heard] These steps were taken by a British general, and we do not recognize it. If we change it and remove it from the map this is our business

which concerns only us, and we are reforming things which were made by the British or the Italians.

I do not recognize borders between Libya and Algeria. I told Chadli Bendjedid; and Brother 'Ali Nasir is going tomorrow to Chadli Bendjedid. Tell him if he wants to take the base of [name indistinct] to train the Algerians, then he can take it and train the Algerians. If they want to train in the Libyan mountains then they can train in the Libyan mountains.

Brothers, I said to Brother Chadli: We challenge an Israeli aircraft or an American aircraft, and their allies. We challenge them whenever they enter the Libyan skies. But if an Algerian aircraft enters the Libyan skies we will be proud of it. I said come and train in the Libyan skies if you like. Train all your Air Force in the Libyan skies, we will be proud of them. They are Arab air forces. We can never recognize borders drawn by the French and Italians among the one Arab people. [words indistinct] One family, part of it became Libyan and the other part became Tunisian. It is one family, the family of Muhammad ibn 'Ali. Algeria complains every time there is an air infiltration from Ghat Base against the Algerian skies. I told him, my dear sir, you can train your Air Force over Ghat Base, and take Ghat Base to train the Algerians, and if you like, you can train in Libyan skies and you can cross for reconnaissance, and if you see something tell us. Even Ghat, if you want to take Ghat with its schools and hospitals and all its problems you can do so. This is Arab Land, and I do not believe that there is something called Algeria and something called Libya.

We do not call for altering the borders with Algeria [words indistinct]. We call for applying [words indistinct] in which we wrote and signed that if Egypt recognized the enemy — this was before the Egyptian recognition and before the end of the Ramadan War [1973 war], if the Israelis were to pass from the Suez Canal, if anything of this sort occurred, then the union would be announced immediately between Algeria and Libya and the liberation will commence from the desert to the Nile Valley. We do not call on Algeria to alter the borders, and we do not recognize borders between Libya and Algeria. We demand the application of Haj Masoud and the respect of our signatures. We call on the brothers in Tunisia not to increase the gates or to reduce their numbers. It does not matter if there is subterfuge going on. We definitely are one people which was divided into two parts; then they come and say there is infiltration and smuggling.

There were objections: How can we overtake Tunisia and Algeria and establish unity with Morocco? For 15 years we have been extending our hand. When was the Djerba Declaration? Was it before or after Oujda Treaty? Was it years before it, Haj Masoud before the Oujda Treaty or after it? Before it. So we went to Algeria and Tunisia and established unity with them. According to Djerba we are one country. According to Haj Masoud we are one country. Morocco arrived after there was unity among Tunisia and Algeria and us. Even if our brothers did not respond to the call of unity, every one of us wants to rule a herd of Arab sheep; to rule them and become a ruler and not want unity. Why do you blame me for overtaking you? I did not overtake you. I did not reach Oujda except through Djerba and Haj Masoud.

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King Hassan extended his hand, and said you want Arab unity, so do I. I will establish an Arab union with you. If I reject an Arab union I would be contradicting my principles. I accepted it and offered it to you. He accepted it and presented it to the Moroccan people, and the Moroccan people agreed to it. This is a historic action, a great action. A king is an emperor, to whom come presidents and revolutionaries and progressive people to establish unity. Yes, all right, he is a king, [words indistinct] for me the aim is unity, and I do not care if there is a king or president, revolutionary or reactionary, right or left, if he establishes unity with me, that is all right. My aim now is to save the Arab nation. The Arab nation is exposed to the danger of balkanization and sectarianism and division, and it will be destroyed and occupied. It will be finished and replaced by a Zionist empire supported by the American imperialism. There is a danger against the pan-Arabism and the Arab unity. I will establish unity with a king, amir or sultan, even with Shakhbut of the Gulf.

The solution, my brothers, lies in removing the fictitious borders and leave the disputes over the borders and the problems. Now we offer the Arab unity. We can establish it. We can establish the Maghreb unity. We can establish an Arab unity, even with its contradictions.

The Libyan-Moroccan unity opened a new door. It is possible to establish Arab unity between two different regimes — a Jamahiri regime and a royal regime. There is no similarity between them. Then what binds them? They are bound by the same nation, because this is one people and one nation. I do not care if this is governed by a king and this by an amir and this by a president for life. At the end they are all kings.

Naturally, the weakness in the Arab defense is a more negative attitude. They want to call on an external force for help in defending themselves. Brothers, I declare it now and let the Arabs hear me through the radio. It is shameful to see the Arab standing in a line whose beginning is in the Arab land and whose end is in the American White House pledging allegiance. It cannot be interpreted except as renewing a pledge of allegiance to Reagan in his second term. Screw Reagan and America. We are a small country but we declare this. [lengthy cheers abusing America].

This Arab line is shameful. We would like a line to India to pay condolences to Rajiv on the death of his mother, and not to go to a country which is completely aligned to our enemy who slaughters us, and who is today bombing us brutally and committing massacres in southern Lebanon with American weapons. The Arabs, everyone of them, runs to America and goes to the White House.

Brothers, we want to expose the Arab rulers who are throwing themselves at the American White House. The American deputy chief of protocol [words indistinct] is waiting at the airport, and receives their majesties and excellencies the Arabs. One says to him, I would like a palace of hospitality, and another says I would like a hotel, and on the second day Reagan meets them. It is a shame to be received at the airport by the deputy chief of protocol. It shames the Arab nation. We have the petroleum, he is the one that should come to us. [Words indistinct] We are the

ones with petroleum and with the strategic position, you are the one who needs us. I am not against the visits between countries. An Arab country seeks to strengthen its relations with another country. But I am against America in particular, because America is slaughtering us. The knife by which we are slaughtered is an American knife. The Phantom aircraft are American, F-16 is American, F-15 is American, F-14 is American. The Israeli force is an American force. America is completely aligned with Israel and disregards the Arab nation completely. At least we respect ourselves. We say it is a super-power. This is America. America should at least be neutral and side with the Palestinian people.

How come the Palestinian people have become the victim of the mistake committed by Germany, Nazi Germany? How come that we Arabs pay the price for Hitler's fault? The world sympathizes with the Jews because they faced massacres. All right, now the Arabs face massacres; let them sympathize with us. Why do they not sympathize with us? This means that they hate us. They hate us because we are Arabs and eastern and because they are anti-Semitic. We are Semites. America is anti-Semitic; it hates the Arabs. Petroleum comes from the Arabs, money comes from the Arabs, and abilities come from the Arabs. All these things America puts in its pockets and goes to the Israelis, but it kicks us and strikes against us with its missiles.

As far as I am concerned, if the Soviet Union was hostile to an Arab country, a single Arab country, I would not go there and befriend it. But the Soviet Union says to me we are extending a friendly hand to the Arabs, and let the Arabs come to us. I told the Arabs, but they did not listen.

They said that America will arm us. I told them I am ready to make the Soviet Union sell you the arms you want — tanks, rockets and aircraft. But you told them we have eight transport aircraft which we paid for and bought from Lockheed airport. [as heard] For instance, I said to Saudi Arabia: Do you want arms from the Soviet Union? All right. I assure you that the Soviet Union will sell you any arms you want. You Saudis, can you guarantee that America will sell me the arms I want? They said we will not sell arms to the Libyans. They are even forbidden from aviation training, atomic science or space. It is forbidden. See how biased America can be! They forbid the students from learning. I said to them, your majesties, three kings died [words indistinct]. They died and not one of them was able to bring Libyan aircraft which are paid for in Lockheed airport. They could not free them. But I said, screw you. I do not care about you. America is showing disdain and contempt. I told them: You are not capable of bringing eight transport planes, paid for already, to an Arab sister-country, to an Arab state, then take them for yourselves! By God I told them: Take them. You the Arab friends of America, Take the Libyan planes; it is better to see Arabs take possession of the planes rather than to see them stay with the Americans. But they are incapable. They have neither weight nor influence nor word nor value with the Americans. They have no value; none at all. This is proven by the fact that America does not respect them. It takes their oil, spits on them, tramples them underfoot and takes side with the Israelis, siding with them fully. It is not even neutral between the Arabs and the Israelis! Then what is disgraceful is that, despite all this, they are going to America, one after the other. And this is not the end. It still goes on. The rest of the Arabs are going in

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procession to America to reiterate loyalty and allegiance to Reagan during his second term in office. This is the point; let the Arab peoples understand this, and let those who are afraid not go!

[Words indistinct] visit Western Europe, visit Eastern Europe, visit the rest of the world, visit any place. I told him: Look brother, America is threatening me with its fleets; it is threatening your kinfolk the Libyans, threatening to seize the Gulf of Sidra from them; it is striking at the Lebanese and the Palestinians with the *New Jersey*, the biggest warship. Why should you go there? He said: Well then, why are you a friend to the Soviet Union? I told him: If the Soviet Union brings a warship and strikes at an Arab country I would cut off relations with it and become its enemy, let alone not visit it. But the Soviet Union, I told him, sells us weapons with which we are fighting the Israelis. Let America sell us the weapons to fight the Israelis. What is shameful is the fact that America announced recently that it had insured that the arms it was selling to Saudi Arabia and Jordan will not be used against the Israelis. Let them tell us against whom? Jordan buys arms that will not be used against the Israelis; but then against whom will they be used? Against Iceland, against Australia? It will use them either against the Arabs or against the Jordanian people. I do not know: weapons bought by Jordan and guaranteed by the Americans not to be used against the Israelis! Against whom then will they use them? Against Lebanon, Syria, the Palestinian people, the Jordanian people, against the Arabs? How nice! I was happy to see Saudi Arabia buy arms from America, but they said: No, these arms will not be used against the Israelis. But against whom then will Saudi Arabia use these arms; against whom if not against the Israelis?

Does the Soviet Union, when it sells you arms, tell you not to use them against the Israelis? It tells you: Here, strike against the Israelis with them. The Syrian arsenal is a Soviet one; the Libyan arsenal is a Soviet one. They sell us arms and we thank them. They are siding with us against the Israelis. They are siding with the Palestinian people; they support the Palestinian people. We therefore befriend he who befriends us and become the enemy of he who is our enemy.

Generally, the reply is not in flocking to America, in laying the red carpet to the Americans, by our horrible humiliation before America. The solution, brothers, is Arab action. I am saying this with regard to my intensive talks, together with my brothers here in Libya, with the leaders of the Palestinian resistance, with the Palestinian resistance that has confronted the Israeli enemy; and the continuous talks that were crowned with the direct encounter last night between myself and Brother 'Ali Nasir [applause] and the continuous talks and recently the lengthy telephone conversation between myself and President Hafiz al-Asad at midday today following which the Syrian vice president landed at the airport and will shortly be with you here, and Brother 'Ali Nasir who will go to Algeria.

The solution now is the proclamation of the establishing of a pan-Arab command to lead the revolutionary forces in the Arab homeland. [applause] This means that there are people in the Arab nation who assume responsibility and are ready to lead the revolutionary forces. And we declare that whenever, in any Arab country, there is a revolutionary detachment, the command of this revolutionary detachment can join the pan-Arab command

and put its revolutionary detachment into the revolutionary force led by this command. Colonel Dr Garang, commander of the Sudanese People's Liberation Army, can become a member of the pan-Arab command, and the Sudanese People's Liberation Forces will become members of the Arab revolutionary forces. The command of the liberation front can become a member of the pan-Arab command, and the fighters of the front will become members of the revolutionary forces. Likewise the Lebanese National Front: The command of Lebanese National Democratic Front has become a member of the pan-Arab command, and the Lebanese nationalist forces are part of the revolutionary forces. The Palestinian command is part of the pan-Arab command, and the Palestinian forces are part of the Arab revolutionary forces.

We are now proclaiming the setting up of a pan-Arab command which will assume the responsibility for the command of the revolutionary forces in the Arab homeland, and any revolutionary detachment from the ocean to the Gulf should join this pan-Arab command. Its command should join this pan-Arab command, and its forces will become members of the revolutionary forces so that America and the Israelis and their allies may realize that the battle is not against the Lebanese National Democratic Front alone, nor against Syria alone, nor against the Palestinian resistance, Libya or Aden; so that they may realize that the battle is against the Arab nation, that a pan-Arab command has been set up in the Arab homeland to lead the revolutionary forces, and that the battle will involve all the revolutionary forces. Tomorrow we shall create fresh revolutionary forces, and also the day after tomorrow, and at every sunrise we shall be creating fresh revolutionary forces that will join the revolutionary forces until, in the end, the battle comes between the revolutionary forces under the pan-Arab command and between the common enemy of the Arab nation, Zionism, colonialism, imperialism, and reaction too. [revolutionary slogans chanted]

Tomorrow, Brother 'Ali Nasir is going to Algiers to ask the Algerian brothers to join the pan-Arab command which will command the revolutionary liberation forces; because the fact is that fighting took place today. There was fighting yesterday; there will be fighting tomorrow. Palestine is still occupied. The Israelis must realize that they have nothing to defend. They should not think that southern Lebanon is one thing and Palestine is another. No. This combat, whether the Israelis and the Americans like or not, is continuing from Beirut, Tyre, Sidon to Acre, Haifa, to Tel Aviv, to Majdal and the Negev until their liberation inch by inch from the river to the ocean, even if we have to wash them in blood, even if we have to leave them littered our bodies. The combat is not finishing. [slogans chanted]

What will they do against us? What will they do against the Palestinians? If the Palestinians consider all Israeli targets as legitimate, if they consider as legitimate all American targets, what will they do to them? Expel them from the United Nations? They are not UN members. They would expel them from their homes? They have already been expelled from their homes since 1948. They would hound them in the Arab countries? They have chased them in Beirut and in all Arab capitals. They have slaughtered them in Beirut; they hit them with aircraft in Beirut. They would call them terrorists? They are already blacklisted as

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terrorists. All right. We thank the enemies for giving us a justification; they have given us legitimacy for action. They call us terrorists. Whatever we do will not be more than terrorism. They have blockaded us; they have considered us criminals; they have blacklisted us. Whatever we do will be considered as coming from terrorists, as they call us.

Fair enough: We are terrorists against America and against the Israelis and we consider their targets as legitimate. The resistance continues and you Libyans are called upon to add fuel to the fire in southern Lebanon. You will construct buildings and compensate the families that are losing their homes, and those whose farms have been burned. You will give them weapons, fuel, and possibilities. The battle must be taken to the Israeli settlements inside Palestine. After southern Lebanon we are going toward Palestine. [applause] The existence of what is called Israel goes against our own existence. If the Israelis destroyed the Iraqi nuclear reactor in Baghdad under the pretext that this goes against the security of Israel, well the existence of Israel goes against the security of the Arab nation; then we destroy it. The existence of a hostile racist nation armed with the atom, a [words indistinct] for imperialism, is against our security, our existence. We, between the ocean and the Gulf, do not accept a racist, alien, hostile entity armed with the atom.

Let it be known that the battle which we support and which we are fighting in Lebanon is not as you think against Amin al-Jumayyil; but is another issue which we are not talking about now. The battle is against the Zionist enemy, the enemy which going mad and is demolishing complete villages in southern Lebanon. Brutal raids against southern Lebanon. This battle is actually putting an end to Zionism in the Arab homeland. This battle has started and it should not end. We should never give them any chance to arm themselves or to reorganize or to resuscitate their economy. We should not give them a chance. The Palestinian resistance is present, the Lebanese resistance is present. We are present. This is a life and death battle. We should never give the enemy a chance to breathe. We should never give him the chance to make himself strong again.

There is no armistice. What did we gain from the Egyptian armistice and the recognition? Do you know that the Egyptian Government to this day is giving the Israelis 40,000 barrels of oil every day, and chemicals and tons of iron for weapons to destroy Libya. What crime committed by the treacherous Government of Egypt can be greater than this crime? This agreement by Egypt sells Israel every day 40,000 barrels of petroleum for tanks, aircraft, and factories. Tons of Egyptian iron are sent daily to the Israelis. They use it in the factories, and make guns and shells for the tanks. The Egyptian chemical factories sell their products to the Israelis to turn them into bombs and explosives to use against the Arabs. This is the peace which 'Arafat and Husayn have just joined. Look and wonder about the peace. [Words indistinct] This peace is against us, against our existence. Our security is endangered by this peace with a racist entity in the middle of the Arab nation. We will go after them to destroy all that they have done. We are the masses that have all the rights. We do not want houses, farms, cars, or roads. To hell with all these things. We will march like ants with rifles and daggers until we take out the poisoned dagger which is planted in the heart of the Arab nation. Then we will build houses. We will not rest until

we destroy the time bomb which is planted among us. Why are you building hotels, building houses, and towers?

As I told you, the vice president of Syria, Brother 'Abd al-Halim Khaddam, is coming, and here he is. What is presented now, in addition to the pan-Arab leadership of the revolutionary forces, and what we are discussing at this time is a wide strategic unity from Morocco to Syria, to Yemen, to Libya. This is what is presented now. The danger is clear, and the solution lies not in throwing ourselves at the American White House. The solution lies in establishing an Arab unity. Everyone is now facing a fait accompli. Here is Aden with us. Tomorrow we put Sanaa in front of a fait accompli. This is Syria and Libya and Yemen. Tomorrow Brother 'Ali Nasir will put Algeria in front of a fait accompli. The solution lies in Arab unity, otherwise we have to go to Reagan who will kick us, and we will kiss his hand and confirm our loyalty.

The matter is now clear. We are building our pan-Arab unity, and we say to the Arabs who are looking for the solution in America that we will not go to America, we will cross to Tehran, we will cross to Addis Ababa, and will strengthen our alliance with the revolutionary forces in the world. We do not defend ourselves by throwing ourselves at America. Since the Arabs do not want unity, then any progressive Arab force has to tie its alliances with the progressive forces in the world. We align ourselves with the socialist bloc, we align ourselves with Iran, we align ourselves with Ethiopia. These are progressive forces. We align ourselves with Chad. These are forces outside the Arab homeland which are aligning themselves with us and which are at our borders. We are the Arab revolutionary forces. The pan-Arab leadership which is leading the revolutionary forces from now on will strengthen its ties with the progressive forces around the Arab homeland. Let the reactionaries go to America. We will go to Tehran and to Addis Ababa, and even to Moscow, because Moscow sells us weapons to use against the Israelis. How can we leave Moscow and go to America which gives weapons to Israel to fight us?

What is now left? It remains that if there is an Israeli attack, supported by America, against Syria, and which is a greater military power, then we will see if the Arabs of the Gulf will stay as kings and amirs or not. Will they accept being waiters in Israeli bars, and become like the Sharif Mecca in the time of the allies?

Now, from today until 8 March on which day the revolution which destroyed the separation in Syria took place, we are presenting the acceleration of the unity between Libya, Syria, Algeria, and Yemen to join the Libyan-Moroccan unity. We said, let us not fight from the inside. This is a civil war and this is our internal problem. Even among the Druze, Sunnis, and Shi'ites we do not interfere.

The United States brought its fleets to interfere in the conflicts within Lebanon, and yet it protests that we interfere in the affairs of the blacks. We declare, or at least I personally shall call and continue to call for the creation of a black state in America and also a red state in America for the red Indians so that America will break up from within. This is in retaliation for its breaking up of the Arab nation. [applause]

V. 4 Mar 85

Q 10

NORTH AFRICA

We have friends such as Desire Bouterse of Suriname. Here is a revolutionary working against America. He is from Latin America, but America cannot stop him being a revolutionary. Let it occupy his country as it did with Grenada. It does not matter. What matters is that the decision is in our hands. Either we live free or die free. Grenada decided either to live free or die. It died a martyr. But one day revolution will arise there. Let America then suffer from too many knives inside its abdomen.

The United States now threatens Nicaragua. As it threatens Libya it is threatening Nicaragua. It threatens Syria, Libya, Aden, Ethiopia, Iran, Suriname, Grenada, and Nicaragua. In fact, we must thank them again, for they are helping us to create an international united front against them.

It is in the cards internationally to set up a front of these peoples which are threatened by America and racism — a united front against imperialism and racism. They forced us to stand in one trench. They turned us into terrorists and they gave us the legitimacy to act as terrorists. Yes, terrorize them. But we are humane and have our culture. But we terrorize the Americans and we terrorize the Israelis. Let us be terrorists.

The United States is disturbed by the call for breaking it up and for setting up a state for the blacks. By God, we too are disturbed by the presence of America and its interference in our area. Let it get disturbed. We are not upset about creating a problem for it from within. But we are fighting it with the same weapons with which it is fighting us. It seeks to break up the Arab nation, we try to break it up from within. We are for the creation of a black state and a red Indian state in America. Thus we open the way for the breaking up of America because it opened the road for the breaking up of the Arab nation.

In your foreign policy section, you raised the question of Italy. The way you raised it does not meet with my approval. I will work against Italy if it refuses to pay reparations to the Libyan people for the destruction it caused and for its colonization. Italy is not the only one. There is Germany and Britain. Germany paid reparations to the Israelis for the period of Nazism. This is a precedent. Then Italy should pay reparations to the Libyans for the fascist era. Germany should also pay reparations to the Libyans for the minefields and the devastation caused by Rommel in Libya. The minefields are still there. The United Nations and international organizations supported us in this. Britain too should pay reparations to the Libyan people for its mines and devastation during World War II.

We have been liberated and we want our revenge on the enemy. Britain and Germany, do what you like and say we separate between America and Europe — these are American colonies. You cannot keep Germany or Britain away from American imperialism. There, the British prime minister has gone to America pleading and wooing Reagan. But when she returned he increased the value of the dollar and said I cannot reduce the value of the dollar for your sake so that sterling can rise. Let sterling not rise or let it fall. Sterling has reached the abyss. Yet she continues. Be sure that Britain is subservient to America, despite all that. Thus Britain is an American colony. West Germany is an American colony. But we deal with people in the manner they deal with us. You apply the principle of reciprocal

treatment, because you have written that Italy must pay reparations. Suppose Italy does not pay reparations, what will you do?

The Center for Studies of the Libyan Jihad against the Italians has gathered lists of losses. We have Libyans missing because of Italy's colonialism. Italy took them. This is registered in the Italian records. It is stated that they were taken on such and such a date. They placed them in a detention camp. Where are they? If they have become corpses let them bring them to us. If they are alive, let them bring them. If their children are alive, let them bring them to us. This is a big scandal about Italy. We are exposing it now to the world. We are disseminating the crime committed by Italy.

Since Adenauer paid reparations to the Israelis for the Hitler era, then Craxi should pay reparations to the Libyans for the Mussolini era. There is a precedent.

As regards the British, I said that you have students who have failed in their studies. I gave them a period of grace. Now they should be brought back. The Libyan students who failed in Britain and to whom I gave them a period of grace should be brought back. But you should not bring them back whether by the General People's Committee or by any other quarter, in midstudy. You have given them a period of grace. Let them finish their scholastic year. Perhaps some of them might succeed. Inform their families to go and bring them. Give them time to finish their studies in Britain. I do not know when the study year ends. Some may succeed or maybe those who need 1 more year might graduate. If they fail at the end of the period set for them, then they should be called back to their homeland and return to their families. But to summon them now and send cables in this respect asking them to return, how can they return? Examine their cases one by one. Find out who has completed his studies and who has not and who might succeed. You must tackle this matter.

But we deal with all the European countries on a reciprocal basis. If they resort to terrorism, we will resort to terrorism. If they support terrorist movements against us we will support terrorist movements against them. They call the movements against us a democratic opposition — movements against Syria, against Libya, and against Aden. They set up camps for them in Sudan, in America, in West Germany, and in Britain. If they consider these to be a democratic opposition, we consider the Bader Meinhof members, the Red Brigades, and the IRA as revolutionary opposition. It is their business. If they treat us well, we treat them well. We reciprocate.

I must say for the sake of truth, the resolutions you have taken today, those adopted by the people's congresses today, have affirmed that the Jamahiri system which came into being in March 1977 [applause] was surely the final solution for the problem of democracy. It helps to overcome all the political, economic and social crises facing the theories of exploitation and oppression which rule the world today.